While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *cuiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used.

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires.

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle.

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaké*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [262] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Bananal village] 353 412

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

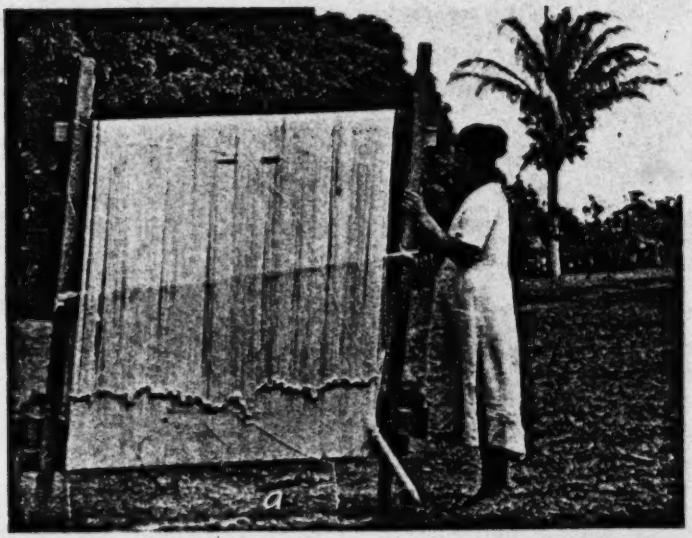
The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

286
291



342
417

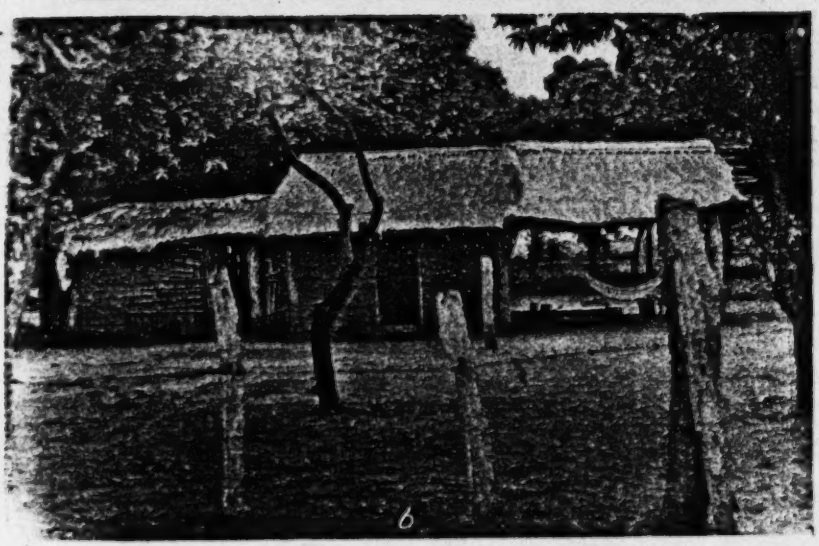


PLATE 1.—Economic life of the Terena. a, Woman with loom. b, Adobe house with oil-drinking sheds.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

Terena
Mbaya SK11
Arawakan Indians SR6

G M 175 648 [20] M 565 648 125 G M 175 648 431 R [288] M [565] [574]

/31 cont./ their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

34. Idem:267.

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 G [439]

To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese. (36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648

Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[Text continues on p. 33]

H
175
648
G
175
177
[193]

/68 cont./

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G
162
361
B
423
233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B
G
484

G
241
● 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
231
463

G
B
464 And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros,
465 "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
• 286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo).
The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[585] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed